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NOTE

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The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2456th MEETING

Held in New York on Monday, 18 July 1983, at 11 a.m.

President: Mr. LING Qing (China).

Present: The representatives of the following States: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Poland, Togo, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2456)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. The situation in the Middle East:
   Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/15863).

The meeting was called to order at 11.45 a.m.

Expression of thanks to the retiring President

1. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like, at the outset of this meeting, to express on behalf of the members of the Council deep appreciation to the President for the month of June, Mr. Elleck Kufakunesu Mashingaidze, representative of Zimbabwe. As President, Mr. Mashingaidze admirably guided the work of the Council last month with efficiency and great diplomatic skill.

Expression of welcome to the new representative of the Netherlands

2. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to the new representative of the Netherlands, Mr. Max van der Stoel. We all look forward to working closely with him.

Adoption of the agenda

The agenda was adopted.

The situation in the Middle East:
Report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (S/15863)

3. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I should like to inform the members of the Council that I have received a letter from the representative of Lebanon in which he requests to be invited to participate in the discussion of the question on the agenda. In accordance with the usual practice, I propose, with the consent of the Council, to invite that representative to participate in the discussion without the right to vote, in conformity with the relevant provisions of the Charter and rule 37 of the provisional rules of procedure.

At the invitation of the President, Mr. Salem (Lebanon) took a place at the Council table.

4. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): Members of the Council have before them the report of the Secretary-General on the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL) for the period 19 January to 12 July 1983.

5. Members of the Council also have before them document S/15871, which contains the text of a draft resolution prepared in the course of the Council's consultations, and document S/15868, which contains the text of a letter dated 5 July 1983 from the representative of Lebanon addressed to the President of the Council.

6. The first speaker is the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, Mr. Elie Salem. On behalf of the Council, I extend a warm welcome to him and invite him to make his statement.

For technical reasons, the meeting was suspended at 11.55 a.m. and resumed at 12.10 p.m.

7. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I call on the Deputy Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, Mr. Elie Salem.

8. Mr. SALEM (Lebanon): I wish to congratulate you, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency. My congratulations to you acquire special significance in view of the support that your country, China, has given Lebanon. I am confident that, under your presidency, the deliberations of the Council will yield wide support for the cause of peace and stability in my country and in the region as a whole.

9. I take this opportunity to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General and to his assistants for the report on UNIFIL submitted to the Council. I also wish to pay a tribute to the countries contributing troops and logistic units to UNIFIL: Fiji, Finland, France, Ghana, Ireland, Italy, the Netherlands, Norway, Senegal and Sweden. Those countries have won the gratitude of the Lebanese people for their readiness to risk the lives of their sons in helping the United Nations implement its decision on maintaining peace in a country which has fallen victim to regional and international conflicts. I must also commend

the distinguished service performed by General William Callaghan, his commanders and soldiers, and the United Nations staff under difficult and complicated conditions.

10. On 19 March 1978, in the wake of the Israeli invasion of southern Lebanon, the Council established UNIFIL for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in southern Lebanon [*resolution 425 (1978)*]. While the Force, for reasons well known to the Council, has been unable fully to implement its mandate, it has nevertheless succeeded in ensuring relative peace and stability in the areas under its control. It has reinforced there the legitimate presence of the Government of Lebanon and provided hope for the Lebanese people that the present area of operation will be extended to cover the original mandate. Most importantly, UNIFIL's presence has been an eloquent manifestation of the commitment of the Council to stand by Lebanon in the face of continuing violation of its sovereignty, independence and unity.

11. Since the establishment of UNIFIL, Lebanon has witnessed dramatic changes. Fighting between the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) and Israel has continued on and off in varying degrees of intensity. The fighting led to a massive Israeli invasion of Lebanon in June 1982 and to the ouster of the PLO armed elements from southern Lebanon and Beirut. In response to the Israeli invasion, Syria has strengthened its military presence in Lebanon, and the PLO has concentrated its remaining forces in the areas in the north and east where the Syrians exercise effective control. These changes have intensified the problems of Lebanon, greatly exacerbated tension in the region and now pitted Syrian and Israeli forces against each other in a more threatening and more ominous manner than ever before. The very cause of regional and international peace is now at stake in Lebanon. In the midst of these developments, UNIFIL has remained steadfast, exercising patience and restraint in the face of continuing provocations and preserving in the face of chaos the hope of peace, stability and legitimacy.

12. Lebanon, conscious of the importance of a United Nations presence in the turbulent south, has been asking for the renewal of UNIFIL's mandate, and the Council has always responded by renewing the mandate for periods varying from two to six months. We are now asking the Council to renew the mandate of UNIFIL for a further interim period of three months, until 19 October 1983. We are not requesting a change in the nature of the mandate or a new redeployment of the Force. We hope that the coming three months will witness the beginning of the end of an era of war and destruction. We have committed our full resources to this end, and we have reason to believe that our efforts will yield the fruits they deserve.

13. The Government of Lebanon is engaged in intensive diplomatic efforts to bring about the withdrawal of all unauthorized forces from Lebanon. These forces are now a source of danger to the very existence of Lebanon, a source of danger to their respective countries and causes, and a source of danger to the cause of peace in the Middle East. In the context of peace and security—the two major concerns of the Council—no problem on the international agenda is currently more urgent than defusing the time bomb in the region by effecting the withdrawal of all unauthorized forces from Lebanon.

14. Lebanon is conducting diplomatic efforts with all countries involved in the Lebanese crisis. Representatives of my country have been talking to representatives of your countries, either bilaterally or in the context of United Nations organs and institutions. We will continue these efforts, and we will apprise this august body of progress made. We shall, in the spirit of the Charter of the United Nations and relevant United Nations decisions, resort to all means at our disposal, diplomatic or otherwise, to attain our goal. The goal is the liberation of all Lebanese territory in the shortest time possible, irrespective of the hardships, the sufferings and the frustrations.

15. We have the right to live in peace and freedom. Our neighbours have one right they might claim of us—namely, that our territory not be used as a base of hostility against them. We will uphold that right for them. Let them uphold our right for us. For too long—perhaps because we were too weak, too free, too lax—we were treated differently by friend and foe alike. Each claimed a right in our internal affairs, and each conceives of its security in terms of rights and gains on our terrain. The time has come for Lebanon to be treated like any other Member of the United Nations and not merely as a proving ground for ideologies, or a testing ground for weapons, or the probing rod of super-Power policies. Never again shall we tolerate this status. Give us the chance and we will put our house in order. We have learned from the storm not to build on sand again.

16. The Government of Lebanon has met the commitments required of it by the Council: it has sent troops to serve with UNIFIL. In addition, it has explored all possibilities to ensure total withdrawal. It is exerting maximum efforts to build a strong army, to reform public institutions, to maintain internal unity and to lay the foundations of a stable and strong State. Lebanon is attempting this Herculean task in the face of stubborn opposition from external forces, but Lebanon will neither waver nor falter. Others wonder: could the country be saved? Are parts of it going to be annexed? Is it going to be partitioned? Can that citadel of democracy, freedom and tolerance be saved from the clutches of jostling interests around it? Let me assure the Council that the Government of Lebanon, under the leadership of President Amin Gemayel, is determined to restore government authority over every inch of the territory. The Government is determined to save Lebanon intact, to preserve the unity and independence of the Lebanese people and to present Lebanon to the world community as a model worth cultivating. Lebanon needs the concerted attention of the Council to disengage it from the vortex of political conflicts in the region and thus save not only itself but also the cause of peace in the Middle

East. In rescuing Lebanon, the United Nations will rescue the State system of the Middle East and will herald an epoch of peace and stability in a region hitherto known for its tensions and conflicts.

17. The problems facing Lebanon are clearly greater than those addressed by the renewal or non-renewal of UNIFIL's mandate. In renewing the mandate of the Force, however, the Council will reaffirm to the world at large its commitment to the independence, sovereignty and unity of Lebanon.

18. I appear before the Council today to ask for the renewal of UNIFIL and to express to the Council, and through it to the troop-contributing countries, the gratitude of a thankful nation, a nation that will, like the Council and those countries, not hesitate also to lend a helping hand to a nation in need.

19. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): It is my understanding that the Council is ready to proceed to the vote on the draft resolution before it [*S/15871*]. If I hear no objection, I shall put it to the vote.

A vote was taken by show of hands.

In favour: China, France, Guyana, Jordan, Malta, Netherlands, Nicaragua, Pakistan, Togo, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America, Zaire, Zimbabwe

Against: None

Abstaining: Poland, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

The draft resolution was adopted by 13 votes to none, with 2 abstentions (resolution 536 (1983)).

20. The PRESIDENT (*interpretation from Chinese*): I shall now call upon those members of the Council who wish to make statements after the vote.

21. Ms. GROOMS (United States of America): I should like to take this opportunity, on behalf of my Government, to extend our congratulations to you, Mr. President, on your assumption of leadership of the Council during the month of July. We look forward to working productively and efficiently under your wise guidance. My Government would also like to thank the representative of Zimbabwe for the exemplary way he handled the affairs of the Council during the preceding month. Finally, my Government would like to welcome to the Council the new representative of the Netherlands.

22. The United States supports the recommendation of the Secretary-General that the mandate of UNIFIL be extended on an interim basis, and the request of the Government of Lebanon that the interim period be three months, or until 19 October 1983. The United States strongly supports the objectives of the Government of Lebanon to restore its sovereignty throughout its national territory and to secure the withdrawal of all unauthorized external forces from the country. Renewal today of UNIFIL's mandate will be a reaffirmation of the commitment of the international community to those objectives.

23. The United States extends its thanks to the Member States which have steadfastly and generously supported UNIFIL with troops and *matériel*. The officers and men of UNIFIL, four of whom gave their lives during the past six months, have served the cause of peace in the Middle East and merit the appreciation of all who seek an end to conflict in that troubled region.

24. Mr. LOUET (France) (*interpretation from French*): It gives me special pleasure to extend to you, Sir, my own congratulations and those of my Government on your accession to the presidency. You represent here at the United Nations a country with which France has always enjoyed friendly relations. We have had occasion to appreciate your qualities as a diplomat, and they will greatly assist the work of the Council. I should also like to extend my thanks to your predecessor, Mr. Mashingaidze, the representative of Zimbabwe, who presided over the work of the Council with great skill. In addition, I should like to extend the congratulations and best wishes of the French delegation to Mr. Max van der Stoel, the new representative of the Netherlands, whom it gives me great pleasure to welcome here. The Council will assuredly benefit from his experience as a statesman. Finally, I should like to welcome the presence here today of Mr. Salem, the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon. The Council is greatly honoured at having him participate in our work. Mr. Salem knows that he can rely on the support of France during this difficult period for his country.

25. France has fully supported the request of the Lebanese Government to renew the mandate of UNIFIL for a period of three months, and it will maintain its contingent in that Force. On this occasion, we wish formally to reaffirm our full support for the action taken by the Government of Lebanon to restore its authority throughout the whole of its territory.

26. My delegation has noted with interest the report of the Secretary-General and approves its conclusions. The circumstances in which the Force was established have been radically changed. UNIFIL must continuously "cohabit" with a battalion of Israel Defence Forces based for an indefinite period throughout the territory UNIFIL is mandated to control. In addition, it must fulfil its role in spite of the presence of *de facto* forces and irregulars. The latter resort to such practices as hostage-taking, threats and the confiscation of vehicles, all of which call for firm disapproval on our part. For that reason, we urgently appeal to the Government of Israel not to limit UNIFIL's opportunities for action in the zone of operations established for it by the Council. In this connection, the French Government is particularly concerned over the exposed situation of the civilian population—in particular, the Palestinians—in Lebanon, especially in the southern part of the country. It would hope that the safety of the Palestinian civilians

might be assured in the best possible conditions. In its report of 24 June of this year, the International Committee of the Red Cross expressed the same concerns. Its representatives, who attempt to provide protection to Palestinian families in the southern camps, expressed serious concern. In particular, they visited the Ansar Camp, where the number of detainees, which currently stands at 5,000, has increased in recent weeks following arrests made by Israeli forces.

27. In this connection, it is fitting to recall Council resolution 523 (1982), which, in paragraph 3, states that the Council authorizes UNIFIL, with the consent of the Government of Lebanon,

> "to carry out . . . interim tasks in the humanitarian and administrative fields, as indicated in resolutions 511 (1982) and 519 (1982), and to assist the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the security of all the inhabitants of the area without any discrimination".

28. The Lebanese Government, beset by a war that has been forced upon it, has undertaken a massive task of national reconstruction and the restoration of its authority throughout all of its territory. It is essential for us to lend it our support by responding positively to its appeal. For that reason, we unreservedly support the decision the Council has just taken to extend the mandate of UNIFIL for a further interim period of three months. As the Secretary-General has rightly stressed in paragraph 27 of his report:

> "the task of assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in southern Lebanon remains especially relevant in the present situation".

29. My Government fully shares that view. As I stated at the outset, my Government confirms its continued support to the Government of Lebanon in the action it is pursuing to restore its authority throughout the whole of its national territory, a territory freed from all foreign forces whose presence had not expressly been accepted by Lebanon. Our support is in keeping with our commitment to respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity and unity of Lebanon. It is in that spirit and context that France, at the request of President Gemayel and of his Government, agreed to participate in the multinational force stationed in Beirut. That force, as we have always hoped and have stated since the beginning, should, at the appropriate time, be replaced by a United Nations force.

30. Before concluding, I should like to pay a tribute to the Secretary-General for his tireless efforts to reduce tension in the region and to facilitate the action of the Lebanese Government. I also wish to extend my congratulations and best wishes to the officers and members of the Force.

31. Mr. OVINNIKOV (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): First of all, I should like to take this opportunity to welcome you, Mr. President, to your high office for the month of July. We are sure that under your skilful leadership the Council will succeed in performing its important tasks. I should also like to express our gratitude to your predecessor, the representative of Zimbabwe, Mr. Mashingaidze, who so effectively and clearly organized the work of the Council in June. I wish to take this opportunity also to welcome to the Council the new representative of the Netherlands, Mr. van der Stoel, and to wish him success in his work here. We also wish to welcome to the Council the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Lebanon, Mr. Salem.

32. Today the Council is once again considering the question of extending the mandate of UNIFIL. This is the thirteenth time that UNIFIL's mandate has been extended since the Force was established in 1978. This fact in and of itself is eloquent testimony to the absence of any positive improvement either in the settlement of the situation in Lebanon or in the implementation of the provisions of resolution 425 (1978).

33. Furthermore, the large-scale Israeli aggression against Lebanon in June last year complicated even further what was already a tangled web of Lebanese problems. It created a real and immediate threat to the freedom and independent existence of that State. Today, more than a year after that act of aggression, Israeli troops continue arrogantly to lord it over Lebanese soil. They are sowing terror and violence there, installing their own armed protégés and openly working towards perpetuating their occupation of yet one more Arab country.

34. Flouting the universally acknowledged norms of morality and law and the many decisions of the United Nations—first and foremost, Council resolutions which call for the immediate cessation of military activities and the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon—Tel Aviv, with the active support and assistance of its American patron and ally, is now striving to be rewarded for last year's bloody act of aggression.

35. With the whole world looking on, the strategic partners from Washington and Tel Aviv, in what has now become their customary cynical and high-handed manner, have together striven to impose on Lebanon such conditions for a settlement as are aimed at turning that country—to call things by their proper names—into an American-Israeli protectorate. Lebanon has been forced at gunpoint to accept the capitulationist agreement with Israel which infringes on the sovereignty and independence of the Lebanese State and creates a threat to the security of neighbouring Arab countries. The implementation of this unfair agreement would be nothing other than a reward for the aggressor. It would undermine the international legal basis for a settlement of the conflict in Lebanon which is laid down in the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly on this subject. It would be simply playing into the hands of those who are attempting to secure one more springboard for acts of aggression against neighbouring Arab States.

36. It is essential to lay particular stress on the key factor of today's abnormal situation in Lebanon, namely, that the flagrant flouting by Israel of the sovereignty and independence of this Arab country became possible only with the consent and support of the United States.

37. The Soviet Union has pointed out on repeated occasions that all that the overseas patron and protector has to do is lift a finger and Tel Aviv would immediately call a halt to its piratical policy in Lebanon. Now, after the recent publication in the United States of the memoirs of certain highly placed officials in the Carter Administration, some specific facts have become known which confirm this. We believe it to be worth while to recall these facts here.

38. Fact number one goes back to September 1977, when there took place yet one more Israeli incursion into Lebanon. The memoirs of Brzezinski, former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs, state that, on 25 September 1977, the United States Administration decided, for a number of reasons, to bridle Israel. Late that night, President Carter sent a telegram to Begin stating that, if Israel did not immediately halt its operations in Lebanon, the United States would halt all military assistance to it. By the following morning, according to Brzezinski—that is, just a few hours later—he was already reporting to President Carter that Begin had given the order to his troops to leave Lebanon. Such is the effectiveness of the influence of Washington on Tel Aviv, if, of course, Washington wants to exercise it.

39. Fact number two goes back to June 1978. At that time, Washington was put out at the fact that Israel, after another large-scale incursion into Lebanon, had left for the so-called *de facto* forces of Major Haddad armoured transports and artillery pieces which had been received from the United States. At that time, as is stated in the memoirs of former Secretary of State Vance, President Carter once again sent a telegram to Begin, stating that, if Israel did not withdraw those American-made weapons from Lebanon, the United States Administration would be compelled to inform Congress of a violation of the Arms Export Control Act. In those circumstances, according to Vance, all United States military assistance would have been automatically halted. Once again the call from Washington had an instantaneous effect. According to Vance, Begin immediately—I repeat, immediately—took those armaments out of Lebanon.

40. If we are recalling these concrete examples, which have now become public knowledge, it is not simply to demonstrate with crystal clarity the extent to which Israel, in its aggressive policy in the Middle East and in this case in Lebanon, is wholly dependent on the United States. The important thing is to stress what further evolution in United States policy has occurred since that time with regard to Israel's piratical actions against Lebanon.

41. In June last year, when Israel launched its biggest and bloodiest act of aggression in Lebanon, Washington did nothing whatsoever to prevent Israel from carrying out its criminal plans. Moreover, it saw to it that American weapons, which had been used for the slaughter in southern Lebanon and Beirut, continued to reach the aggressor in an uninterrupted flow. It was precisely for that very purpose that in August last year the United States, in isolation, blocked the Soviet draft resolution in the Council which provided for the cessation of arms deliveries and military assistance to the Israeli aggressor. By so doing, the United States assumed full responsibility for encouraging the aggressor.

42. The reasons why Washington is now not only unwilling to restrain Israel but also actively helping it lord it over Lebanon are quite clear. Beginning in 1981, Israel has been a strategic partner of the United States. This is a qualitatively new situation. On the strength of this partnership, Israel, with United States money, United States weapons and United States political support, is today in Lebanon and throughout the Middle East securing not only its own goals but also those of Washington.

43. It is therefore not surprising that the United States, which at the time voted in favour of Council resolution 509 (1982) demanding the immediate and unconditional withdrawal from Lebanon of Israeli troops, subsequently stated that that resolution was not relevant and had become outmoded. It is not surprising either that the United States, in association with Israel, directly helped that country to impose this unfair agreement upon Lebanon. Nor is it surprising, finally, that on Lebanese territory, along with Israeli occupying forces there have appeared—under cover of the fig-leaf of the so-called multinational force—occupation troops from the United States and certain other countries of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The protracted stationing in Lebanon of both Israeli and multinational—in practice, American—forces is in contravention of Council resolutions which reaffirm the responsibility of the United Nations for the withdrawal of Israeli troops from Lebanon. All of this is part of one single whole; all of it is a reflection of the line of the United States which is aimed at seeing that, in partnership with Israel, a sinister military bridgehead is created in the Middle East. The purpose of this far-reaching strategy is to dictate capitulationist terms to Arab countries and peoples in order to turn back the clock of history, to gain control of Arab oil and to recolonize the Middle East. This is what the most recent events in and around Lebanon tell us.

44. Settlement of the situation in Lebanon must and can be achieved, not by means of separate deals or arm-twisting behind the scenes but on the basis of strict and unswerving compliance with resolutions of the Council which demand the unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from that country.

45. It is precisely within this context that the Soviet delegation views the question of extending the mandate of UNIFIL. As is clear from the report submitted to the Council by the Secretary-General, the activities of the Force have continued to be carried out under difficult

circumstances created by the actions of the Israeli occupying authorities. It is clear from the report that Israel continues actively to support and encourage its puppets in the south of Lebanon. It is attempting to impose upon the Lebanese its own protégés and use them to supplant organs of local administration. It is continuing to provoke incidents with the military personnel of UNIFIL, posing a threat to their life and security. These acts by the Israeli authorities towards UNIFIL personnel are a direct violation of previous resolutions of the Council, in particular resolution 523 (1982), in paragraph 2 of which the Council:

> "*Insists* that there shall be no interference under any pretext with the operations of the Force and that it shall have full freedom of movement in the discharge of its mandate."

46. It is the duty of the Council to ensure respect for its resolutions and to put an end to the provocative conduct of a State Member of the United Nations towards the international Force operating under the United Nations flag.

47. In the light of the recommendations of the Secretary-General and the request made by the Lebanese Government, and also bearing in mind that the goals and functions of UNIFIL will continue to be determined by the mandate laid down in resolution 425 (1978) and subsequent decisions of the Council on this subject, the Soviet delegation has found it possible not to object to the extension of the mandate of the Force.

48. Mr. van der STOEL (Netherlands): Sir, I should like first of all to extend my congratulations to you on your assumption of the presidency. I should also like to take this opportunity to thank you and members of the Council for the kind words addressed to me as the new representative of the Netherlands in the Council.

49. I now turn to the United Nations peace-keeping Force in southern Lebanon. We are all aware of the difficult circumstances under which the Force is now obliged to operate. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon and subsequent developments in the area have made it practically impossible for UNIFIL to carry out the mandate given it by the Council under resolution 425 (1978), paragraph 3 of which states that the Council decided to establish the Force

> "for the purpose of confirming the withdrawal of Israeli forces, restoring international peace and security and assisting the Government of Lebanon in ensuring the return of its effective authority in the area".

50. These difficulties notwithstanding, we felt that UNIFIL still had a stabilizing effect on the situation in the area. Moreover, the Force was able to play a useful humanitarian role, and its presence indicated that it might be available for duties connected with a future withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon. The Council has on several occasions—the last being on 18 January of this year [*2411th meeting*]—extended the mandate of the Force, with interim periods of varying duration. For its part, the Netherlands Government has agreed to continue its participation in UNIFIL. However, when the Council discussed the UNIFIL mandate in January of this year, we made it clear that any continued participation would be subject to the fulfilment of certain conditions, which in our view have not been met, or have only very partially been met.

51. Outstanding among developments which have taken place since the previous extension of UNIFIL's mandate by the Council is the agreement signed on 17 May 1983 between the Government of the State of Israel and the Government of the Lebanese Repubic. The Netherlands has welcomed this agreement, which provides for the withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanon and which would terminate the prolonged state of war between the two countries. We have also expressed the hope that this agreement will contribute to the establishment of a lasting peace in the Middle East and that it will receive the support of all parties in the region. It goes without saying that the Netherlands Government is deeply concerned at the fact that, two months after the signing of the agreement, its implementation is still very much in doubt, for in order to attain the Lebanese Government's objective that all external forces withdraw from its territory as soon as possible, it should be able to count on the co-operation of all concerned.

52. The Government of Lebanon has requested the renewal of the present mandate for a further interim period of three months. Although we understand the very difficult position of the Government of Lebanon, which prompts it to ask for another temporary renewal of UNIFIL's mandate, we think the time has come for the Council to face the fact that UNIFIL's mandate, as established by Council resolution 425 (1978) and subsequent resolutions, has lost much of its meaning. However, during the past six months it has become increasingly difficult for UNIFIL to carry out what remains of its mandate.

53. Actions and incidents caused by the Israel Defence Forces and local militia have further undermined the authority of UNIFIL in the area and seriously called into question UNIFIL's ability to carry out its main task nowadays—that is, to protect the local population. We urgently repeat our call to the Government of Israel to respect UNIFIL's mandate and to stop obstructing the Force from performing its duties.

54. Bearing in mind that UNIFIL has now already, for more than a year, been largely prevented from carrying out the tasks envisaged for it and that it does not seem likely at present that the Force will be able to assume useful functions in the near future, my Government has come to the conclusion that prolongation of UNIFIL on the basis of the present mandate could not and should not be indefinite. With regard to the Netherlands participation in UNIFIL, I am instructed to inform the Council that the Netherlands Government has agreed to

its further continuation, under the existing mandate, for a period of up to three months as from 19 July. We have therefore just voted in favour of the draft resolution presented to us today.

55. However, barring entirely new circumstances which would enable my Government to reconsider its position, the Netherlands battalion will be withdrawn from Lebanon as from 19 October. The Netherlands decision to withdraw is linked to UNIFIL's present mandate, which in our view has largely lost its meaning. However, our willingness to agree to a further extension for the months ahead offers ample opportunity to consider the future. We intend to remain in close contact with the Government of Lebanon, with the Secretary-General and with our friends in UNIFIL and with all other parties concerned to assess any useful contribution that UNIFIL could make after 19 October.

56. Mr. MARGETSON (United Kingdom): May I join in congratulating you, Sir, on assuming the office of President. We are already greatly indebted to you for your help and your wisdom in informal consultations of the Council, and we admire your distinguished qualities, which we know you will certainly bring to the presidency. May I also thank Mr. Mashingaidze, the representative of Zimbabwe, for the excellence of his presidency. He steered the Council with great skill in some very difficult business last month, and therefore earned our gratitude. I should be grateful if my delegation's thanks could be passed on to him. May I also join you, Mr. President, in welcoming Mr. van der Stoel, the new representative of the Netherlands. He has had such a distinguished career in international relations, including being Foreign Minister of the Netherlands for some years, that I know we shall all benefit greatly from his presence at the United Nations. He will no longer be just a bird of passage with other Foreign Ministers at the General Assembly.

57. It is not for me to answer the extraordinarily unbalanced and unhelpful account of recent history in Lebanon that my Soviet colleague has chosen to give us. I want instead to confine my contribution to the particular matter before us—namely, the future of UNIFIL.

58. My delegation was very pleased to join in the vote renewing the mandate of UNIFIL. The Secretary-General's report on UNIFIL which is before us is very valuable. We are most grateful to him for it. I believe it has made a convincing case for the renewal of the mandate.

59. Nevertheless, we feel that the Council should ask itself—not necessarily now, but over the next three months—about the future of UNIFIL, what its purposes are, and how it may fulfil them.

60. As the representative of France has said, circumstances have changed dramatically since UNIFIL was set up. I think it is generally accepted that the Force is no longer carrying out what I would describe as a conventional or traditional United Nations peace-keeping role—that is to say, the role of holding the ring militarily while politicians and diplomats attempt to solve the underlying problems.

61. My Government believes that UNIFIL is playing a helpful, protective and humanitarian role in southern Lebanon. But we share some of the concern expressed by the representative of the Netherlands. In particular, we are concerned that the troop contributors are being asked to undertake something different from the conventional United Nations peace-keeping role and that they are being asked to do this in conditions of considerable difficulty and even danger. I should therefore like to pay a sincere tribute to all members of UNIFIL in the field for their continuing courage and tenacity.

62. There are two points to which I should like to draw attention. First, in his report, the Secretary-General has a number of criticisms to make of the treatment of UNIFIL by an occupying Power. Secondly, there is a shortfall in the UNIFIL account of almost $170 million.

63. I believe it is shameful that the troop contributors, some of which are developing countries that need financial resources badly and that are already making a sacrifice in providing troops for the Force, should be penalized for playing their part in what is a noble cause. Anyone who has sympathy for, and understanding of, the problems of developing countries must be shocked that they are being treated in this way because of the unwillingness of a group of Member countries to share the financial burden of UNIFIL.

64. My country believes that to withdraw UNIFIL would be to remove what the Secretary-General describes in his report as an element of stability in what, alas, has become an unstable land.

65. It is no exaggeration to say that the very existence of a founding Member of the United Nations continues to be at stake.

66. We have just adopted a resolution reiterating our strong support for the territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence of Lebanon within its recognized international boundaries. At their meeting at Stuttgart on 19 June, the leaders of the European Community said that

> "the return to full sovereignty and final peace in Lebanon requires the complete and prompt withdrawal of foreign forces from its territory, except for those whose presence may be requested by the Lebanese Government".

They also confirmed

> "their full support for President Gemayel and his Government in their determined action to re-establish their authority over the entire territory of Lebanon" [*see S/15867*].

67. Perhaps we should be asking ourselves whether there is anything the Council can do, beyond renewing the UNIFIL mandate for a further interim period, to help the Lebanese Government regain that territorial integrity, sovereignty and political independence to which we have once more given our support.

68. The **PRESIDENT** (*interpretation from Chinese*): The Council has thus concluded the present stage of its consideration of the item on its agenda.

The meeting rose at 1.15 p.m.

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